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Then they bought a long plank of wood,
For Meng-wo to be put upon.
/111/ When the Taoist priests had finished the funeral ceremony,
Husband and wife were sent up the hillside.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
They were carried over the Yellow River with nine turns.
On the left there was the Green Dragon, on the right the White Tiger.
From behind the Jade Goddess protects their grave site.
In front the scarlet bird* comes to pay its respects.

/* A position in geomancy./

At the back were fierce tigers facing spotted leopards.
Sing to the end the ancient tale of Meng-wo.
So that it will be spread over the five lakes and the four seas.

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In addition to the above, there are the Song of San Pe Ying T'ai /"the three heroic elders"/, the Song of Chiu Niang /"the three girls"/, the Song of T'ang Hsien Chang Shih Niang /"the ten women of T'ang Hsien Chang"/, the Song of Mai Ch'en, etc. All of them are well engraved in the heart of every Miao. Because they are all lengthy pieces, space does not permit us to include them in the present report.

/112/ Chapter IX. Intergroup Relations between the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao.

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The Chinese constitute the majority of the inhabitants of Hainan Island. Next are the Li and the Miao. The intergroup relationship of the three ethnic groups—the Chinese, the Li, and the Miao, particularly the first two—has constituted an /important/ part of the history of Hainan, and naturally it still will be at the core of problems

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M of Hainan Island in the future. Therefore, in order to understand the
● 648 history of Hainan or to solve problems of that region in the future, it
121 is very important to understand the intergroup relations among these three peoples. Let us now begin our discussion on relations between the Chinese and the Li.

H In the second chapter of my book Report on an Investigation of
175 the Li of Hainan Island, where the "racial and geographic origins of
101 the native Li people," is discussed, I have assumed that the Li migrated from Nanhai /of present Kwangtung province/ to Hainan during the Stone Age. I do not yet have concrete proof whether this assumption is close to the fact or not. However, it is beyond doubt that the Li have lived here since the prehistoric period. According to the most reliable historical research, the Chinese moved to Hainan during the Ch'in dynasty /221-207 B.C./. In 110 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty established two provinces there, Chu-yai and Tan-erh. This is recognized as the official date when Hainan Island was brought under China's sovereignty as a part of her territory. It also dates the beginning of intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li. It has been more than two thousand years since then! During these two thousand years, Chinese immigrants to Hainan increased from year to year. The Chinese immigration was carried out more intensively after the Sung period /960-1278 A.D./. (For further /113/ reference see the author's History of the Development of Hainan Island.) The expansion of the areas occupied by the two groups
H naturally caused complicated conflicts. Moreover, Hainan Island
648 traditionally has been considered an "area beyond /Chinese/ civili-
175 zation" by the governments of various dynasties. They established no suitable policy for governing the Li. Outside the negative actions of "suppression" and "appeasement," they did very little actual constructive work. (For further reference see in the author's book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, the chapter concerning policies adopted by governments to govern the Li.) Hence they could not win the good will of the Li and only increased the troubles between the two groups. This traditional deficiency has come down to modern times, and still causes trouble between the

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H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this M 648 736 isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property——level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

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648 736 influential person in the locality and often took advantage of the Miao of the area. Once a Miao man who had picked a few catties of edible tree fungus on another mountain passed through his mountain. He then arrested him on the ground that the Miao had stolen the fungus from his land. In addition to the confiscation of the fungus, the Miao was fined several tens of dollars. The Miao then began to appeal for justice to everyone he met. His Miao neighbors were sympathetic and wished to help him. They advised him to petition the district government. Anxious to have the affair settled, they sent agents to the government everyday to find out the result and waited for the trial. Days passed, and there was no response from the government at all. We could imagine how disappointed they were. Later when I came back from the Miao villages and went to inquire about it at the district office, I was told that no such case had been received, and the district government had /118/ heard nothing about it. What happened? I really felt bad about it.

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648 Now let us turn to the relationship between the Li and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book, we mentioned that originally the Miao were sent to Hainan to help the Chinese government suppress the Li uprisings. Therefore, the two groups had no reason to like 175 each other. However, neither the Li nor the Miao possesses a written history. These ancient conflicts could not have remained in their minds. Their antagonism, therefore was due not to historical factors but to economic reasons, or, more correctly, to their connections with the land.

As mentioned before, the Miao were the last group of immigrants to Hainan Island. The fertile land was already occupied by the Chinese and the Li by that time. Consequently, they were compelled to live in the deep mountains, enduring terrible hardships. Yet these mountain lands by no means belonged to them but were rented from the Li under contracts of different terms, because long before the Miao moved into Hainan these mountains had already been occupied

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648 by influential Li leaders. Hence, even at the present time, almost without exception all Miao land is rented from the Li (a small part also belongs to Chinese merchants who have made their for-
648 tunes in the Li area). From the economic point of view, there-
466 fore, the relationship between the Li and the Miao has been the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Miao have to pay a certain amount of annual rent to the Li leaders (landlords); sometimes they even have to contribute personal service without compensation. They have to make a contribution toward running the Li schools and t'uans equal to that of the Li participants, but they are not allowed to participate in their administration. Moreover, the ownership of the land belongs to the Li, who can take the land back from their Miao tenants at any time should the latter
648 be disobedient. /119/ During last year's call to "develop Hainan," many shrewd Li leaders declared that they would take the mountain lands back from the Miao to cultivate themselves. Some also took forest preservation as a pretext and forbade the Miao to burn the mountains. When this news reached the Miao community, they were scared to death and did not know what to do about it. Among these unreasonable arrangements, the most cruel one is that the mountains are rented to the Miao tenants, but they are forbidden to enjoy any of the mountain products other than the crops that they
[a22] cultivate. Some Miao pick some of the mountain products, such as edible fungus from trees and rattan, which they may bring out to barter with the Chinese. If they are caught on the way to market by the Li, all the commodities they carry with them are usually confiscated, and in addition they are heavily fined. Commodities subject to confiscation even include the animal skins which the Miao might have hunted in the mountains. Under such circumstances, the Li leaders and the Chinese landlord-merchants usually cooperate because their interests are identical. When I was in the Li area, I personally saw how these /Chinese/ merchants expressed their anti-Miao feeling. One can imagine how hard Miao life is. When I had just arrived in the Miao area, they all approached me with countless complaints about how they were badly treated by other peoples and how hard their livelihood was. They begged me

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648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 185 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only 181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they 556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true 648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land- 423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest 181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the 171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 871 648 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

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181 leader was arrested and tortured by the li because he planned to es-
871 tablish a school. But they were not discouraged by these unhappy
648 occurrences and pushed on to their goal. On this occasion, when we arrived in the village this spring, they were just trying to establish a school and begged us to stay there for a few months to do some teaching for them. At the least, they hoped we would help them to establish the school. But owing to our busy schedule, we had to leave within a few days. It was really surprising that when we returned there within a week we found that they had already completed the construction of the school building. Teachers had also been engaged, waiting for the opening of classes. However, the Li leaders in the neighborhood were preventing them from doing this by every means. When we left there this conflict had not been yet settled. This event impressed us deeply.

648 The Miao all live high in the mountains. Their life is hard,
123 and they have no place to submit their complaints. Therefore, they are very glad to have some cultural and social intercourse with the Chinese, and, needless to say, they have great expectations of the government. When we arrived in the Miao area, they gave us a warm welcome, /121/ because, with the exception of a few Chinese merchants, very few Chinese ever visited there and were sympathetic toward them. However, a few shrewd Li leaders also are aware of this and try by every means to prevent the Chinese from meeting the Miao. The Li leaders especially try to prevent the Miao from getting in touch with the Chinese government, so that their complaints will not be heard by the outside world and they will have to endure all the injustices inflicted on them.

511 The differences in the way of life between these two groups of people have created two entirely different national characteristics. The Miao are a people without property. The mountain area in which they live is rented from others. They have to pay a certain amount of rent annually. These mountain lands usually have very poor soil. Water supply is insufficient. They have to work hard to combat
157 nature in order to obtain a minimum amount of produce to live on.
461 Such circumstances have made them a hard-working and very frugal

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H 181 273 276 [48] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

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H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

1: Wang--123 S-5 (1937) 1948 AE5 Miao AE5
Hainan AE2

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648 economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and
439 the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

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177 In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought
191 about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and
H the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest
M way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both
[971] the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems
648 exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

H M C48 /124 cont'd/ This, of course, is the responsibility of the government. However, they by no means can be solved through verbal service. It is necessary to understand the core of the problem first, so that the disease may be cured by the use of the proper medicine. As has been mentioned before, troubles between the Chinese and the Li are caused by corrupt officials, land rowdies, dishonest merchants, etc. To adjust intergroup relations between the Chinese and the Li, the prerequisite is to get rid of these bad elements. This is a purely political measure. In the future, if the government selects better administrators for the Li area, intensifies discipline, and checks corruption, the Li will naturally come to the support of the government and the obstacles between the two peoples will gradually disappear. In the near future, as to the land problem, which is a natural result of the movement for the development of Hainan, the government should set up an over-all program and measures for a satisfactory solution so that disaster may be avoided before it breaks out. The relation between the Chinese and the Miao is comparatively simple. It is easy to improve. But the frictions between the Li and the Miao should be given more attention. The antagonism between them springs entirely from the land problem. /125/ Within limits so that the Li interests are not jeopardized, we should give some satisfaction to the Miao with regard to their demand for land. In this way the Miao would be satisfied while the Li would not be scared of their "bed" being occupied by other people. If the source of trouble is removed, the antagonism between them would disappear, and intergroup friendship would naturally improve.

However, these passive measures are by no means enough for further improvement of intergroup relations. We have to do something actually constructive that would link the two groups spiritually. The removal of the source of trouble relies upon political power, while the improvement of spiritual relations relies primarily upon cultural forces. As regards the latter, Chinese culture should be utilized to the utmost. That is to say, we have to develop to the fullest extent the good elements of Chinese culture and make use of them to improve the lives of the Li and the Miao so that they will

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 178 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

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Second month, twenty-first day. (Sunday)

124 At eleven o'clock in the morning we left for Wen-hua market. We had previously asked Mr. Li Hsi-ch'ing to get some of the Miao and Li of the vicinity to come here to meet us. Soon we saw the Miao headman /chia ch'ang/ of Pao-ch'a village, Wang Fu-shou arriving with a group of over 20 Miao men and women. But only a 126 few Li people came. Mr. Yang Ch'eng-chih immediately began the task of taking physical measurements of the people there, photographing them, etc. The Miao struck me as a group of very likable people. We invited them to a feast at Mr. Li's store and presented them with some small gifts. Mr. Li's wife, a Li, was visibly displeased upon ●648 seeing our bestowal of favor on the Miao. I was really puzzled by this, but later upon study I began to understand the complex relationship between these two groups, which can only be grasped by someone who has actually lived among them.

181 As we were returning from Wen-hua, three or four Miao men followed us closely. They complained to us about the harships of their lives and earnestly begged us to take them along for schooling. Their desire for knowledge and education was so sincere and pressing that it amazed me greatly. This indicated the deep-hearted cry of the minority groups to which we sincerely hope the government will give special attention.

Second month, twenty-second day. (Monday)

487 Ten o'clock in the morning, we started off for a visit to the Miao
361 village of Pao-ch'a under the guidance of the Miao headman, Wang Fu-shou. The Miao live in the high mountains, /131/ and the path to the village was unusually winding and rugged. On the way we learned from Headman Wang that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village had a large collection of written records of the Miao. We were much excited and decided to head directly for that village first. Upon our
123 arrival the villagers appeared very much disturbed, being taken aback by the unexpected presence of strangers. I hurried immediately to find Headman Lu and explained to him the reason for our abrupt arrival. This allayed their suspicion.

2: Ling & Ruey

AE 5 Miao AE5

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/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

/17 cont./

M *101 C 563 from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region. The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution M *101 131 C 563 of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M 167 ● 648 C 563 167 Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF16
Central China AF14

/18 cont./

M 167 [648] C 563 167 directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M *101 C 563

M *101 [131] [167] CC 563 Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

M [162]

M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
SC bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M [782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

[273] (10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[167] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[291] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[714] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[411] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
[648] p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

M (11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
[302] Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[787] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[648] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
[787] Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[825] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. They then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office," The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563
(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/29 cont./

133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds [192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing /a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width, [312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drinking water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai [433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li [241] north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795, [648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there. The above two places are the largest among the basins on the plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/. [312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never [312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized Miao to defend." The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao [361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

[1] [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./

133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft, thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese have migrated here.

M [487]

M 131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty. 648 Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li C 712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administrative Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, 648 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so 563 scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some 40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi (1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the northwest regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8) some 300 years ago. The 131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line 648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

1/n [sec cat. 116, pp48c and 56a - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
[161] limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[167] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated, with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate.— Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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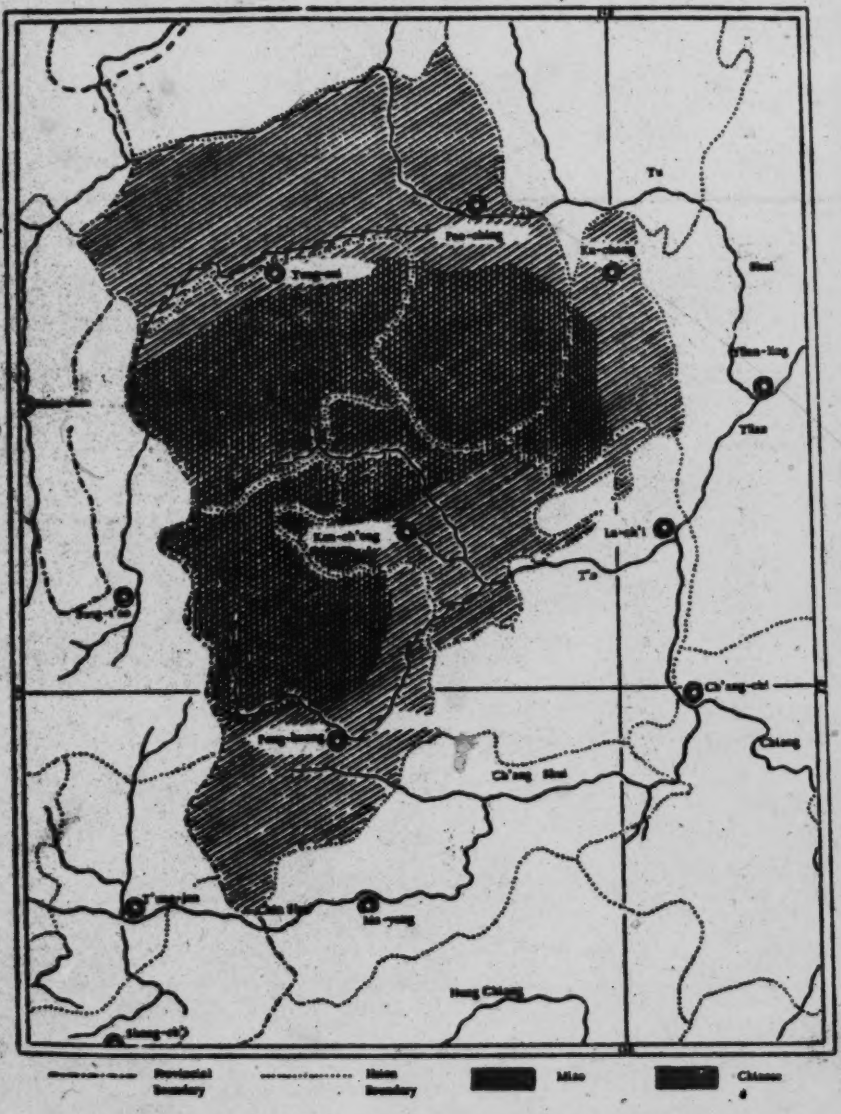

Illustration 5. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'ang, Tung-ssŭ, Pao-ching, and En-shang.

/55 cont./
243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731 seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
784 drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
[688] avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once. Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
• 648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p. 89]

/61 cont./

731 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds,
[313] and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing relatively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/123 cont./

C 701 425 651 The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men. The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i, tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent. Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There C 701 425 651 are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/ /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields 563 M 701 in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system, totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black 648 [425] [177] Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

2:Ling & Ruey--185 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/126 cont./
obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances. In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao rebellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system. It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There are no people however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in Science, Religon and Reality by

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

●[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [pay tɛy ɕioŋ] is commonly called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer [pay tɛy tsay] called the guest lao-shih.

When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit. "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
*[782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297. ANALYST]

462 241 and transporting it therefrom. They helped with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 252 One or two men swung the large wooden mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

462 342 412 Men worked in large groups to bring the stone for a building's foundation, transport, bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 855 622 875 648 Men sometimes took charge of children, even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children enjoyed being with them. Contacts with the outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

ing school, and the engineers' corps of the railway being built through the town from Kwangsi to Kweiyang. To it the people of the surrounding contryside, including at least three groups of Miao and the Chung-chia, went to market. It was also the seat of the *hsien* government and contained a middle school, postal and telegraph offices, and a co-operative bank, with all of which the non-Chinese, as well as the Chinese, had some dealings. A few of the more well-to-do families sent one of their boys to the middle school. Cases which could not be settled in the village or by the *lien pao* official, who was also a Chinese, were of necessity brought to the *hsien* court, as well as cases which involved both Miao and Chinese.

The market was held in an open space reserved for it just inside the east gate of the city. There were permanent sheds under which merchants who made the rounds of such markets displayed their stocks of cloth, notions, and articles manufactured elsewhere. Other sections of the grounds were reserved for eggs and poultry, sandal straw, farm implements, brown sugar cakes, fruits and vegetables, dishes and cooking utensils, pigs, tobacco, chillies, food stalls, articles of wood and bamboo, meat, firewood, grain, and the thin strips of sulfur-tipped wood used for carrying fire. The main market for wood was just outside the city gate.

People within a radius of perhaps ten miles and including Chinese, Chung-chia, and three, sometimes four, groups of Miao, attended this market to buy and sell. One group of Miao came from the mountains twenty-four miles to the south with charcoal. Each group had a distinctive costume worn by the women. That of Chung-chia women consisted of long, narrow trousers with a woven band of color at the ankles, a knee-length blouse in old Chinese style, a straight apron attached to the collar of the blouse with a silver chain and tied with embroidered strings in the back, and a tight skull cap. The women of one group of Miao wore dark blue trousers to below the knee, a skirt of many pleats of dark blue, bordered with a wide band of white, a blue blouse worn surplice and having a large sailor collar. Their legs were wound in many long strips of blue cloth. About the waist

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however,
648 they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to
689 the village for the second period of residence, the first of February, 1942, I found that the
648 old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
123 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last
648 week in June to a place to the east to sell some
123 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

661 they did. But before anything could be done
•648 he had been taken to Kwangsi. Later his
captors took him to Hunan. He was well
123 treated and not forced to become a soldier,
but served the commanding officer as a secretary. He was later released. I like to think that a letter I wrote to a friend high in the provincial government had something to do with his release before the soldiers were due to return to Kweichow. It was not until after the rice harvest that his family sent him traveling expenses so that he might come home. He arrived in Lung-li on the third of December.

648 On the eighteenth of November I was asked
123 to go to the *hsien* magistrate for them again.
This time a relative by the name of T'ang
685 was being detained on complaint of some Chi-
nese. This man owned a wooded slope. The
661 Chinese, wishing to take advantage of the great demand for charcoal as fuel for motor vehicles, either had or wanted to set up a charcoal depot in Lung-li. They asked this man to make his wood into charcoal for them. No agreement was made, but they had him arrested to be held until he could produce fifty thousand *chin*,[2] more than sixty-six thousand pounds. What they wanted me to do was to urge the *hsien* magistrate to investigate the matter quickly so that the man could be released. This I did. But when the *hsien* magistrate said he could be released if two would go surety for him, and they asked me to be one of his guarantors, I refused, for I had never seen the man and could not find out what it meant to be a guarantor under such circumstances in China.

After I had gone into the *hsien* city to live they continued to ask me to help them. Upon one occasion I was asked to urge the *hsien* magistrate to hasten his investigation of a case in which a Miao had accused some Chinese of stealing logs from his house while only his wife and children were at home. The Chinese said that he had sold them the logs before felling the trees on a hillside he owned and that they were only taking what already belonged to them. I was asked to urge the magistrate to investigate the matter before the Chinese should have time to convert the

[2] One and one-third pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points. 648 123 685 661

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released. 684 [844]

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set. 686

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate. 621 671

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well 592 265

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF17
Miao AE5

Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.[60]

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.[61]

During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.[62]

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China AF 17
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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.[63]

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.[64] Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.[65] When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily understandable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate southward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-1567), there was a major suppression campaign against the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52' N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears relatively even except where mountain systems such as the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface. The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the one in the foreground have been eroded far below the surface of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers cultivate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon. Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes quickly with crop cultivation.

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troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their descendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-nan.[66]

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their territories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand, and suppression and extermination on the other. There was hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when suppression or pacification campaigns were not being undertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major suppression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating the migratory movements of the modern period. (The Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover, these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and massacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields. The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the pushing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land considered of little value by Han-Chinese.[68] (The parallel situation with respect to the American treatment of the Indians is noteworthy.)

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The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not coordinated events and were put down by Governor-General Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

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101 175 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.

● [648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.

000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed 131 161 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

161 The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the 000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

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871 corrupt and did untold harm. Since the coming of the mission-
797 aries to the Miao area, churches and schools were established,
871 and those who were converted to the Christian religion were given an education. Today there are quite a few Miao who have received a higher education with the help of the church. However, it is regrettable that under the influence of the church, the religious element is too strong. In the 14th year
871 of the Republic [sic. It should probably be the 24th year of
648 the Republic, or 1935.] when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as head of the government came to Kweichow, he saw with his own eyes the low cultural level of the Miao-I and planned to assimilate them through education. The next year the government issued an order to encourage Miao-I education and appropriated a large sum of money for the purpose. In the same year the Provincial Rural Normal School was established at Ch'ing-yen, but its students were not all children of the Miao-I, sixty or seventy percent being Chinese who pretended to be Miao-I. Again, in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] when General Yang Sen was stationed at An-shun he promoted Miao education through his army by establishing three elementary schools with some good results. But not long afterwards his troops were transferred to the front and his education program was abandoned. Aside from these attempts, the provincial
872 government established an elementary school in each of the
648 twelve hsien at Kweiyang, Huang-p'ing, Li-po, T'ai-kung, Wei-ning, An-nan, Kuan-ling, Tan-chiang, Shui-ch'eng, Ting-fan, Lo-tien and Pa-chai, where the Miao-I congregate. In other hsien areas there are short-term elementary schools that also admit Miao-I children. The educational system for the Miao-I in Kweichow is rudimentary at best and with the extensive distribution of the Miao-I over a wide area the work is like extinguishing a wagonful of burning fuel with a cup of water -- not at all effective or enough.

3) Occupations. The Miao-I people, being retarded in
241 cultural development, have just entered the stage of agricultural community, and so their chief occupation is farming. [14] Those Miao-I living in the northwest of the province have high

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6. General Living Conditions

511 Due to limited space we cannot discuss all the phases of their living conditions. In sum, the Short-skirt Hê Miao are still passing through a phase of village economy. The necessities of life, except salt which is obtained from the Chinese, are all produced in the village. The area they occupy is quite fertile. Not long ago they produced a great deal of opium though they themselves are rarely addicted to it. They are, however, surrounded on four sides by the Chinese, and an extension of their cultivated acreage is therefore practically impossible. But their population has greatly increased in the course of centuries and in proportion the per family acreage under cultivation has greatly decreased. Although some few of them may be large landowners, the majority of the Hê Miao can maintain only the barest economic subsistence. Their continuous toil all year round yields merely a pittance, barely enough to ward off starvation. This kind of rigid economy [31] [161] together with the prevalence of smallpox increases the rate of mortality in recent years to such an extent that it follows closely the maximum birthrate, and thus manages to bring their population rate to a standstill: more people are being born, but more also are dying.

[212] They have no written language, their knowledge is limited, and their living standard is far below the standard of modern life. 648 Because of the backwardness of their civilization they are held in contempt by the Chinese. Due to repeated conflicts in the past between the Chinese and the Miao-I, a great deal of misunderstanding, suspicion and prejudice still exists between the two groups. Fortunately, there are no unified spoken language customs and habits among the various Miao-I groups, and so among their many millions of people there is yet no apparent consolidation of a minority group movement to oppose the 000 Chinese. If our government authorities can undertake the development of their educational standards on the one hand and the elimination of misunderstanding and racial prejudices on the

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527 535 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 535 241 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain [648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 535 842 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates childbirth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 535 584 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

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157 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe
609 under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

562 The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share in the most difficult labor.

836 The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue, but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

526 The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic.
193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

197 It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

[198] Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of
212 commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few
[871] characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their
[648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

539 The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narra-
[533] tives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous, sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

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534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re- [171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of [237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

631 In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without 648 doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-chau") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

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186 631 648 It is fitting, however, to point out the repugnance with which the "Méo" accept being subordinated to "Thai" chiefs, even though this subordination is of the lightest kind and applies only to rare acts of ordinary living: the payment of taxes, the furnishing of labor details, and so on. In this repugnance must be seen only a manifestation of the spirit of independence with which the "Méo" are so deeply imbued.

631 648 In other communes, by contrast (Pha-Long, and so on), the "ly-truong" are of the "Méo" race and they hold the administrative authority over "Thai" and "Man" groupings settled upon the territory of these communes.

175 There is not now in Tonkin a "Méo" chief above the rank of "ly-truong." However, legend preserves the memory of a personage by the name of Sioung, calling himself the "King of the Méo," who established himself in the region of Yen Minh about the year 1860, an epoch corresponding to the second violent invasion of the "Méo," spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

This King Sioung showed himself to be most bloodthirsty in the war he carried on for some ten years against the "Thai" of the regions of Quan-Ba, Yen-Minh, and Dongvan, and was killed by myrmidons in the pay of his father-in-law (1).

1. Also it is fitting to indicate a movement of insurrection fomented in 1911 among the "Méo" of Dong Quong by a chief who took the name of Sioung. This revolt was quickly suppressed. During the war of 1914-1918, an uprising of the "Méo" of Upper Laos caused the dispatch of an expeditionary column, which re-established order.

631 648 There still exists in our time, in the Chinese region contiguous to the Thanthuy sector, a personage improperly called "King of the Méo," who is none other than a "Méo" chief invested by the Chinese

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
[627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

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174 [173] The description by the Meau concerning their later history from the time of Hoang-ti up to our day agrees with the Chinese reports. As a missionary, Savina sees in these traditions of the Meau in connection with religious elements, on which he reports and which I shall go into later (in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"), a confirmation of the legends of the Old Testament. Moreover, they provide the basis for his complicated reconstruction of the supposed migrations of the Meau. Now it is true that the Meau whom I interviewed in Thailand also speak of a country that is supposed to have had such long nights, but I did not find the other statements confirmed. Incidentally they [823] would presuppose that the Meau knew of the spherical shape of the earth, since the author speaks of "antipodes." But this is by no means the case. On the other hand, /11/ one may probably agree with Savina's remark (1) that it is not known when the Meau en-

1. II, p. vii.

countered the Chinese for the first time and that in any case this was in prehistoric times.

[648] We have just as little exact information as to how long the Meau lived in peace with the Chinese. Wieger is of the opinion that it was over a period of time from the fortieth to the thirtieth century B. C. that, as Savina (2) reports, "they did not disturb

2. II, p. viii.

175 648 each other." This harmony ended, according to Savina's reports, around the twenty-seventh century B. C., since the Meau began to be concerned over the rapid development of the Chinese and attacked them. The sources for this first disturbance of the erstwhile harmony are, it is true, of Chinese origin! At the beginning, the Meau allegedly were successful, but were finally defeated by the Chinese under Huan Yuan. Nevertheless, they refused to accept him or his successor as emperor and waged war against the Chinese during the first centuries of Chinese history.

39: Bernatzik--16 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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175 in the basins of both the Yellow River and the Hoai. These
● 648 wars always ended with the destruction or subjugation of the Meau, the latter inevitably being followed by destruction (see chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples").

In the Chinese reports the Meau are always described as the attackers and as inferior barbarians, which was why the Chinese "had to punish them." The first European reports come
[197] from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We owe them to missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Thus, Mailla, du Halde, and Amiot repeatedly speak in their works of the battles of the Meau with the Chinese. Naturally, later works are also based upon the ancient Chinese literature. For example, Savina (3)

3. II, p. 129.

reports: "The 'Sin kouo wen' speaks of the Meau in the eighth volume, which is entitled 'Allgemeine Geschichte von China /General History of China/' (4): 'There follows the period of

4. Translation of Père Lamasse, p. 485.

Hoang-ti. Thanks to the symbols of the calendar it was possible from then on to verify time, an improvement which has lasted to the present day, that is, for more than 4600 years. Hoang-ti invented the weapons of war in order to subjugate the Meau tribes.'"

/12/ At this point we shall borrow from Wieger's study (1)

1. Pages 9 ff.

the following quotations which are illuminating for the history of the Meau: "The Hia, namely, the Chinese, came from the northwest, followed the course of the Wei River...to the Hoai River. Here the migration was stopped by a then numerous people whose remnants are the Meau of today... These resident

/12 cont./

175 Meau looked askance at the intrusion of the Chinese. They rose
648 up in a general revolt, made war on the Chinese, and beat them back from the plains south of the Yellow River to the north of the plain of the present-day Tcheu-li. The instinct of self-preservation unified the Chinese, who, led by Huan-Yuan, defeated the Meau under Tcheu-yeou. It was a bitter battle, with life or death at stake... Defeated, Tcheu-yeou's subjects were made slaves..., history makes no secret of the fact that Hoang-ti imposed Chinese culture upon the Meau by force... In order to soften up the Meau, a cruel people, Hoang-ti used their own criminal laws against them."

It seems that once the harmony between the Chinese and the Meau was disturbed there was no way of restoring it later on. Savina (2), for instance, reports: "At the time of Confucius,

2. II, p. 131.

twenty centuries after the events just described, there were still twelve noble and powerful families." The author believes that these were Meau, and he adds (3) that, according to all the

3. II, p. 132.

Chinese reports of later times, the Meau are regularly mentioned whenever there is an account of sedition and revolt. We find this largely confirmed. In the oldest part of the Schu-djing, which supplements and elaborates the Bamboo Annals, it is said that even the mythical Emperor Chun forced the San-Meau to hide away in San-Wei: "Under Chun's fourth successor it was again only the Meau who refused to obey the Emperor" (4). Father

4. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 2.

Amiot (5) writes: "In the following year 2282, Chun threw the

5. Vol. XIII, pp. 286 ff.

/12 cont./

175 San-Meau back to San-Wei... It is asserted that the San-Meau
648 are the descendants of the peoples who, after the defeat of Tscheu-yeou, refused to submit to Hoang-ti. They have always lived independently within the empire, and those who ruled them belonged to the people of Tscheu-yeou." Amiot (6) continues:

6. Page 299.

"In the year 2247, /13/ Chun divided the San-Meau into various tribes in order to distinguish them in this way from the other people." Amiot also describes an attempt at direct colonization by the Chinese and relates how the Meau, who were protected by the inaccessibility of their mountainous country, were subjugated by trickery.

When Chun divided the Meau into various tribes over which he appointed Chinese officials, he also allotted ground to the Meau, which they were supposed to cultivate, and houses and villages as well; he differentiated the families and "in short, neglected nothing in order to bend them gently under the yoke." Evidently, however, these attempts were not very successful, for later on it is said that the Meau spread into almost all the mountains of China and, as before, maintained their unyielding character which no one again tried to humble. Amiot confirms that "the mandarins who are appointed over them to give an appearance of ruling them do not exert any power over them except that which the Meau concede to them voluntarily."

The Chinese seem to have already become aware of the fact that the prerequisite for successful colonization is accurate knowledge of those to be colonized. Thus, it is reported that the Chinese emperors sent mandarins as well as scholars to the Meau, with the task of "ascertaining everything that seems worth knowing about this type of savage." Even at that time, however, complaints were voiced -- as is often the case among us today -- that the scholars entered only the nearest and most accessible regions, because they feared every possible kind of difficulty and merely brought back any kind of information they chose, which did not say anything except what was already known.

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/13 cont./

As Amiot (1) further reports, Chun now decided to use

1. Pages 286 ff.

the "fivefold tortures." We learn what this refers to from his report: "They were condemned to have their noses or one or both ears cut off, to be castrated, or to be 'branded shamefully in the face.'" It is then said further: "Since the Meau prince did not have any principle of virtue, his people always remained in barbarism and far from permitting themselves to become civilized, did nothing rational. They thought only of sedition and knew nothing about faithfulness, truth, and openness, either in words or in deeds, and /14/ sought to be skillful only in deceit. The prisons were not adequate to accommodate the prisoners. The streets were red with the blood of those executed; the majority professed their innocence before the Throne of Heaven and complained bitterly about injustice. But Chang-ti (God), before whom nothing remains hidden, saw no trace of virtue among them. He saw only crime and rapine. Outraged by the bad example set by these peoples, the emperor decided to exterminate them and obliterate their princes, for Chang-ti, angry because justice could not be attained among the San-Meau, used Chun in order to annihilate the Meau prince and his people."

Corresponding to this report, we learn similar things from other authors. For example, from Mailla (1), that the Yau-Meau

1. Vol. I, pp. 47 ff.

rose in revolt about 2225 B.C., whereupon the emperor ordered Yu to subjugate the Meau prince, which he succeeded in doing. Von Eickstedt (2) comments on this subject: "Both the Tung-

2. III, p. 2.

djiän-gang-mu and Dschou-schu, the latter having been translated in the eighteenth century by the famous Père Amiot, report

/14 cont./

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to the same effect for the Hsia Period (that is, 2205-1766 B.C.) that it was the Meau who prevented the Chinese under 'Emperor' Huang-di from advancing farther" (3). And the Bamboo Annals

3. Young, pp. 133 ff.

matter-of-factly report of Emperor Chun (allegedly about 2254 B.C.): "In the thirty-fifth year of his reign the Emperor commanded the Prince of Hsia to fight the Meau, whereupon the Meau people came to the throne (in order to offer their submission)" (4). Wieger (5) states that the Meau were subjugated

4. Also confirmed by Legge, p. 116.

5. Page 46.

in 2220, in spite of the fact that they had successfully resisted the Chinese army. Pauthier (6) reports that about 1110 B.C. part

6. Vol. I, p. 87.

of the Meau were shifted to East China by Emperor Chun, while other groups of the people inhabited the mountains in the south, where they and their descendants maintained their independence. As Wieger (7) also points out, about 826 B.C. the emperor himself

7. Page 127.

had waged war against the barbarians who had invaded the territory north of the Hoai and the Han, while Fang-chou marched against the Man to the south of the Han, and Hou moved from Chao against the Meau to the south of the Hoai. The Chinese odes dealing with these expeditions speak of 3,000 battle carts and of 300,000 foot soldiers who were at the /15/ disposal of Fang-chou. Nevertheless, the Chinese did not succeed in

/15 cont./

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achieving a lasting peace. Even though the term "barbarians" may include other mountain tribes, it is safe to assume from all this that the Meau took a leading part in the wars.

Even in later times the struggles continued. We learn from Mailla (1) that in the fourth month of the year 1456 A.D.

1. Vol. I, p. 316.

Fang-yün destroyed the Meau after he had surrounded them from four sides. A legend reported by Von Eickstedt (see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales") indicates that these battles did not always turn out well for the Chinese or at least were not always waged against the mountain tribes. According to his interpretation, a Man or a Meau chief is said to have become a Chinese prince and son-in-law of the emperor of China in acknowledgment of his successful armed assistance.

Savina (2), however, on the basis of the Textes historiques (3),

2. II, p. 145.

3. Page 2073.

further relates that as early as 1733 and 1735 the Meau rose up from the mountains of Kweichow. And thirty years later, in 1763, the Meau of Szechwan and Kweichow under their leader took up arms again and were defeated by the Chinese under General Akoui. Not until 1775 did the Chinese succeed in taking the fortified places of the Meau in the mountains one by one. Finally, Sonom, the king of the Meau, surrendered after being assured that his life and that of his subjects would be spared. The Chinese, however, broke their word and executed him.

We are indebted to Amiot (4) for a description of the sur-

4. Vol. III, pp. 387 ff.

render of the Meau king and of the way he was lured to Peking: "There (in Peking, note by Dr. Bernatzik), after his arrival, he was entertained. Once or twice he became suspicious and became sick with grief. The attention, the flattery, and the outward demonstrations of friendliness were redoubled. He

/15 cont./

175 recovered and hoped for the best." -- According to the description, however, the Chinese were only "saving" the subjugated Meau for their festivals. Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ is therefore justified in maintaining that the Chinese used many strategems and were no less cruel than the Meau, assuming that the latter were actually cruel. He calls attention to a truly heart-rending letter written by the missionary Amiot in the year 1775, in which the latter describes how the /16/ Meau, outwitted by the aforementioned General Akoui, were led to Peking under the leadership of King Sonom and his entire court, in order to be executed there. Amiot (1) then describes an abortive

1. Vol. III, p. 387.

attempt to rescue the Meau king and reports on the execution of the verdict: "Before the tortures began, the great military leader of the Meau said to the emperor of China: 'Before he [797] died Father Sourvin (a Catholic missionary, note by Dr. Bernatzik) entrusted the king to my care. He was a young prince and not yet capable of making an independent decision. I am the one who was in favor of war. If this be a sin, then I alone have sinned, I alone deserve to be punished. I beg you to spare the life of the young king who could not be guilty. We could have sold our lives at a high price, and yet we surrendered after we had been assured of Your Majesty's mercy.' But he spoke in vain, and at a signal from the emperor, the tortures were begun. With a gag in their mouths, they were tied to stakes and cut to pieces at eleven o'clock in the morning."

We find similar descriptions of the executions in Amiot's letter which was reproduced by Savina (2): "Sonom, his younger

2. II, pp. 145 ff.

brother Chalopen, his advisers, Kantak, Sonompontchouk, Karoua, Goisar, his aunt Atchin, and her husband Langtsia were cut into small pieces alive, and the two shamans of the king,

/16 cont./

175 named Tonkio and Kanpou, along with ten other advisers, met
648 the same fate. Nineteen others from the court of the king, who were treated with leniency, were 'only' decapitated; sixteen other relatives or followers of Sonom were incarcerated for life. Fifty-two others were sent into exile to Ily and were given as slaves to the Eleuths; forty-five staff officers of Sonom's army had to serve as simple soldiers in the Chinese army, thirty-five others served as slaves of the Tatar San-sing, and fifty-eight as slaves of important Manchu officers. The remaining shamans (Amiot speaks of 'lamas') were condemned to become the servants of the lamas in the temples of Kiang-ning. In his work, Amiot gives the following verbatim report, continuing from the day of execution of the leading Meau: "Their heads were then taken and exhibited in cages with designations of their names, surnames, and titles. On the following days, /17/ the bloody execution of the Meau of lower rank began. Of this unfortunate nation only a few members of the lower rank survived, and they were given to the victorious officers as slaves."

Von Eickstedt also gives a description (1): "Again around

1. III, p. 1b.

1650, then between 1755 and 1779, and finally from 1855 to 1881, they tried to regain their complete political freedom by bloody aggressive wars. By that time, however, the Chinese hold and penetration were much too strong and the uprisings were suppressed with a truly boundless cruelty, although also with considerable trouble and sacrifice." The author continues: "When the Chinese did not succeed in subduing the Meau with armed might, they tried to do it with 'wisdom and virtue' (probably economic and cultural penetration is meant), and the fact that they were successful in this is shown in the Tung-djiän by the statements that the Meau treated in this manner gave themselves up after seven decades."

/17 cont./

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Nevertheless the power of resistance of the Meau was not broken, and, tyrannized by the avaricious Chinese officials, the Meau of Kweichow rose in revolt again and again, and the Meau of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Tonkin were also heard from on various occasions, as Savina (2) reports on the

2. II, p. 145.

basis of the Textes historiques (3). We further learn from

3. Page 2081.

Abadie (4) that the Meau residing in Tonkin gradually spread

4. Pages 149 ff.

along the northern and northeastern border to the Annamese Cordillera. To be sure, most of this movement proceeded peacefully, but Abadie also points out several instances of penetration by force into the Dongvan region at the beginning of the nineteenth century and about 1860. According to him, on the occasion of their first penetration, several thousand Meau marched in warlike formation from southern Yunnan, devastated everything along the way, and reached Annamese territory in the region of Dongvan. There they used force to drive out the "Thai" and the "Man" who had settled there. The invasion of 1860 was of even greater scope, and many "Thai" today still vividly remember it. At this time, the Meau pushed from Dongvan and Quan-Ba almost as far as Phu-Yen-Binh deep into Annam, after they had beaten the Annamese troops and /18/ had spread horror with their indescribable cruelty. This invasion was nevertheless repulsed by troops brought up from the delta and reinforced by many war elephants. The use of these animals spread panic in the ranks of the Meau, and they fled into the high mountains, in which they still live today.

/18 cont./

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Finally Abadie (1) comes to the description of the history

1. Page 163.

of the Meau in the twentieth century. Here he mentions an uprising of the Meau of Dongvan in 1911 under a Chief Sioung. This movement was quickly suppressed. Then an uprising by the Meau in upper Laos during the World War 1914 to 1918 made it necessary to send an expeditionary force there. I was told that this revolt was fomented by agents of one of the powers in the war. Concerning this uprising, Savina (2) reports briefly

2. II, p. 235.

that in July, 1918, the Meau in the province of Laokay had revolted, and in the Luang Prabang district the uprising had lasted until March, 1921. Lajonquière (3) gives a similar account:

3. II, pp. 297 ff.

"The last minor revolt took place in 1928 in French Laos. Of greater importance were the uprisings that broke out in July, 1918, in the province of Laokay, which caused the French administration considerable difficulty and could not be suppressed until March, 1921, in the region of Luang Prabang."

Savina (2) /see footnote 2 above/ then discusses the causes of the uprisings of the Meau and comes to the conclusion that the Meau had always revolted "because they are a people without property. They have no homeland and no king." It seems to me, all things considered, that this is a somewhat rash statement. [114] I shall come back to the probable actual causes, and not only for the revolt of 1918, which I have already briefly mentioned, at length and upon a sound basis in the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," in the section on "Causes of the Migrations."

/19 cont./

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●148

Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese his-

2. II, p. vii.

tory they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from [101] ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time

2. II, p. vii.

of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

3. III, p. 4.

Miao AES

/20 cont./

175 648 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B. C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung [101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 175 648 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

/21 cont./

131
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We learn from Maspero (2) concerning both groups, the

2. Page 244.

Meau in Tonkin and those in French Laos: "The Meau form very scattered groups in Tonkin and Laos. The most important group, that of Mung-trang, north of Lao-cay, belongs to the territory of a chief (tou-sseu) on Chinese territory. The other groups live completely separated from their relatives in smaller villages."

[148]

In Tonkin the limits of expansion which they have reached thus far by following the various mountain ridges are given by Von Eickstedt as the northern and northwestern boundary up to the Annamese Cordillera. At any rate -- as has already been mentioned -- all the Meau are rapidly advancing toward the south.

J. McCarthy (3) reported in 1902 that in 1886 the Meau

3. Pages 83 ff.

had not yet crossed the left bank of the Mekong, but in 1894 they had already settled on the heights of the right bank. Credner (4)

4. IV, p. 167.

writes: "Only in very recent times, during the last half-century, have they also moved into the high regions of northern Siam." In 1929 the explorer (5) found them south of the Mulmein-

5. IV, p. 139.

Raheng /Tak/ route at 16° 35' north latitude and stated that within about forty years, they had thus shifted their area of distribution almost 380 kilometers to the south, and /22/ continues: "In the mountain ranges between Menam Tschao Praya /Chao Phraya River/ and Menam Pasak /Pa Sak River/, A. Kerr in 1927 found a large Meau village at 17° north latitude on the heights of the Pu Lomlo on the Uttaradit-Lamsak route, so that

/22 cont./

173 [115] This report agrees with the traditions of the Meau whom I investigated in Thailand. One of my informants, the chief Pan Sung, was told by his grandfather, named nya lü, and by his father, named tsu ten, that their ancestors had once lived in Mongolia and had migrated from there to the Chinese border, then to Yunnan into the country of the Haw, and then to the south. Pan Sung's grandfather was even born in Yunnan. /23/ [648] In China, according to my informant, they had continual feuds with the Chinese, who attacked and pillaged them regularly. These brigands in China and Yunnan were all equipped with rifles, which were, of course, far superior to the weapons of the Meau. The Meau therefore had to hide in the woods and could not lay out fields. Grave famines broke out as a result, which forced them to emigrate from China, and, since the situation was no different in Yunnan, also from there. The grandfather of my informant, nyă lü, who was great chief (see the chapter, "Political Organization," section "Kingship and Chieftainship"), decided to do this and migrated southward with all the Meau under his jurisdiction. He led them to the Thailand-Indochina border, not far of their present settlements, where they have been living for several decades.

174 [131] The presence of Meau on the island of Hainan has also been reported. It seems, however, that these Meau were brought over only in recent times, in part by the Chinese from Kwangsi (1).

1. Stübel, II, p. 226.

This hypothesis seems quite plausible if one knows on what a vast scale resettlement activities involving tens and even hundreds of thousands of people were carried out in the wake of military action in Farther India. It would, of course, be necessary to determine once and for all whether the mountain tribes of Hainan actually are Meau and not perhaps Yau. It is significant, at [197] any rate, that Savina, the expert on the Meau language, compares the language of these mountain tribes with the language of the Man tribes, that is, Yau tribes, in Tonkin (2); according

2. Befeo 26, pp. 11 ff.

/31 cont./

597 In the case of adoption, very many points must be observed in accordance with Meau customs which go into great detail. Childless /32/ couples seek to adopt a child. Only children of the male or female sex up to the age of at most ten years, however, may be adopted. The couple now look for a suitable child of a mother who has especially many children, if possible of their own sib /Sippe/, and furthermore obtain the consent of the heads of both of the large families /Grossfamilien, extended families/ involved, provided that such a head of the large family exists in the case of the child to be adopted. The couple also makes this intention known to the parents of the child to be adopted. If the parents have also agreed, the childless [782] couple slaughters a chicken as a sacrifice to the god of heaven and the ancestors and informs the latter of the completed transaction by burning some chicken blood on sacred paper (see the chapter "Handicrafts"). With this the adopted child is received into the new family community with all rights and duties.

If no children of one's own sib are available, one tries to obtain a strange child. This presents difficulties if its [432] parents are still alive, for, as a rule, children are not sold. The situation is different if the parents are dead and the oldest of the orphaned siblings is not in a position to take proper care of the younger ones, as would be his duty. Such children are sold for the purpose of adoption. Sometimes special intermediaries are used for this. These are traders, usually Chinese, • [418] who buy and sell children as well as all kinds of commodities (see the chapter, "Trade").

[435] For such a child, if a girl, fifty pieces of silver, for a boy about seventy, are paid. The price varies according to the age and health of the child. If the child is from one's own sib, the price is usually somewhat lower. My observations are therefore [114] contrary to the reports of the Siam. Soc. Journal (1), but

1. Vol. XVII, Part 3, p. 167.

they are not refuted by any other author.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 737 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M 567 Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," M [648] section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/37 cont./

A M 571 114 Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/ Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631 From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [648] regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

/38 cont./

631 consist only of people of their race or sometimes embrace small groups of ethnically similar elements, who are under the rule of a chief chosen by them."

"In the region of Hang-Giang the various hamlets of a valley are under the jurisdiction of a ma-phai or ho-thau. Several villages are under the jurisdiction of a ping-tao... His title is translated as 'chief of the canton.' These cantons, finally, are united under a toung-tscha... This is the organization existing in the lands where the tribes were able to expand and to form compact settlement groups. If settlements are of lesser importance, only a ping-tao stands over them. If, finally, the settlement /39/ is even weaker, it is under an [648] ordinary ma-phai who receives his orders from the lytru'o'ng of the 'Tho.'"

Abadie (1) deals more briefly with this organization, and

1. Page 162.

Savina (2) reports: "The Meau like to group themselves in

2. II, p. 187.

tribes, and the inhabitants of one village usually belong to a single tribe. It even happens frequently that persons of the same tribe occupy whole mountains. In this case they all obey the chief of the tribe to which they belong."

In China, too, larger communities are supposed to exist, as Abadie (3) reports: "Even today in the Chinese region

3. Page 163.

[648] bordering on the Than-Thuy sector there exists a person who is incorrectly called 'King of the Meau' and who is nothing but a chief of the Meau who was appointed by the Chinese administration with the title of a 'Tou-sseu,' that is, 'administrator in the country of the barbarians.' This person has

Miao AE5
Akha A04

M 631 [648] /39 cont./ retained a certain moral influence upon the neighboring Tonkinese regions, but, of course, exercises no executive authority at all over these peoples."

The situation is different in Thailand where the Meau immigrated in small groups and were often able to remain completely independent, like most of the other mountain tribes. Seidenfaden (4) also mentions this more or less in-

4. II, p. 102.

dependent community of such peoples. Under these circumstances in Thailand today there are no political units larger than the village, over which there is the village chief. In M [648] the administered parts of the country, he has to be approved by the district officer. Moreover, the villages of the Meau consist of only a few houses, whereas in former times their village unit, too, was powerful.

A 621 Among the Akha in Thailand the custom of having great village settlements with one hundred to two hundred houses has been maintained (cf. the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various A [631] Meau and Akha Tribes"). A larger political unit does not exist.

/40/ b) Kingship and Chieftainship

M 643 [631] The memory of times when there was a much larger political unit has been kept alive to this day among the Meau. Thus, tradition tells of a powerful kingdom of the Meau, an hereditary kingship, in which the king was at the same time the supreme war-lord.

After the death of a king, the entire people, that is, all the mature men able to bear arms, selected the successor from among the sons of the deceased. It did not make any difference to which of the generally numerous wives of the king this son was born.

/40 cont./

173 643 ● 648 According to the tradition of the Thailand Meau, as my informants told me, their last king waged war against the Chinese because the latter menaced the Meau settlements. After the initial successes of the royal commander-in-chief, tă lĕn tĕŭ, the Meau were nevertheless beaten. The king and his military leaders died in the bloody battle. Then the younger brother of the slain king assumed leadership. He led all the people southward on the flight before the pursuing enemy. -- The present-day Meau in Thailand no longer re- 643 member the kingship in detail. It could not be learned, for instance, whether the crown was customarily passed on to the son or to the brother of the deceased. Only the designation 668 for king - văn tsŏ has survived. Even today they believe that 643 sometime and somewhere a Meau king will rise again, who will unite his people, gather them together, and lead them victoriously against the hated oppressors. Savina (1) describes

1. II, p. 258.

similar ideas from among the Meau in Indochina: "The Meau are waiting for a liberator, a king, a phoa thay. As soon as the report of a phoa thay comes from somewhere, they immediately take up their weapons and set out to put themselves at his disposal. What we call a 'rebellion' they call oa phoa thay, 'to make a king.'"

173 634 Far more vivid, however, is the memory of the Meau concerning the power and activity of the great chiefs (tsŭń kŏăń). One of my informants in particular knew all kinds of details; he was a direct descendant of the last great chief. The memory of the great chief, however, /41/ was also alive among the other Meau and in any case was more vivid than that of the king, since the common man probably scarcely had an opportunity to know the king himself except by hearsay.

/98 cont./

584 marriage /99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find
●[648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 584 608 614 686 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

/109 cont./

M 174 583 432 [648] [614] [734] to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

A 583 648 Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1),

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

M 582 648 563 Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. M [114] Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.

/112 cont./

586 769 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 837 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has [558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

[484] If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /119/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children [851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon [614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no [578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such [595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 ● 648 587 [583] If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
583 price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
[184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.

/161 cont./

775 [761] not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans, as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm of souls.

775 787 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one. Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 775 776 825 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not feared either. There is one exception, however. During the three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected, so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four, it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 825 [648] Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II, p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because they belong to the same family and can transform themselves into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the [763] [177] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign, probably of Laotian origin.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/251 cont./

A 689 Lying is forbidden, to be sure, as it is among the Meau, but it is not punished, as it is among them. Similarly the Akha A 684 do not have any penalties for rape. The reason for this is the same as among the Meau.

A 685 A person convicted of theft simply has to return the stolen goods. If he has denied the theft, however, he must restore twice as much. In the case of arson, too, the perpetrator must simply make good the full damage.

A 683 /252/ The same holds true for bodily injury; in addition the perpetrator must fully provide for the injured for the duration of any ensuing reduction of his ability to work.

A 684 For violation of the rather broadly conceived incest prohibitions, the male partner must pay to the female partner ten to fifteen pieces of silver "for compensation," as it is expressed. I have already discussed in detail the punishment for adultery in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Dissolution of Marriage."

A 681 Habitual criminals of any kind are banished, but not killed.

d) Jurisdiction

A M 671 G48 692 The mountain peoples are subject to the laws of the colonial powers in whose territory they happen to be. Thus, the Meau of China are subject to Chinese jurisdiction and those of Tonkin to French-Indochinese jurisdiction, as is also shown in the works of Abadie (1) and Lajonquière (2). Accordingly, the

1. Page 163.

2. II, p. 321.

Meau and Akha of Thailand are subject to the laws of Thailand, and those of Kengtung to the laws of the Schan /Shan/.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/252 cont./

A M 648 692 In general, however, this gives a rather theoretical picture of legal conditions. Only in very serious cases, and even then only as an exception, are legal cases brought to the law courts of the colonial powers by the mountain people. This usually happens only if a member of a mountain tribe has been in the service of members of other tribes for a long time or lives in a settlement of another tribe, which is rare. In such isolated instances, however, it may happen that such a tribesman will appear as defendant or plaintiff before the court of the colonial administration concerned.

The Akha in Kengtung as well as the Meau in Tonkin who are to a large extent controlled by the government of the colonial powers, settle almost all their cases in their own domain and in accordance with their customary law, so that not more than one per cent of their cases come before the official jurisdiction.

A 628 648 692 [631] /253/ It is different among the Akha when there are disputes to be settled between their various villages. Since the Akha today have no political organization beyond the village unit, th , frequently turn to the chief of the nearest valley tribe and ask him to decide the issue (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly"). The latter, usually a Schan /Shan/ or Lao, then acts as a sort of arbitrator.

e) Legal Procedure in Characteristic Cases

M 692 In accordance with the very precisely organized political structure, the individual Meau is obliged to observe the established legal procedure in all cases. Self-help is therefore forbidden. Accordingly, blood vengeance is unknown, as are secret courts.

M 692 622 [685] [693] Among the Meau, thefts, insofar as trifles are involved, are at first simply put up with; in repeated cases, however, one turns to the village chief, who acts as judge in petty cases. He is the court of the first instance in all lawsuits. If the village is so large, however, that the village chief is too greatly occupied with other matters, then an older man of the village takes over

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. A M [241] [262] The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that A M [648] are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[2] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

A [224] The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here./

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M ●648 M 701 [702] [562] In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

1 [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p249 - "]

/449 cont./

114 212 [175] mentions that Vicomte D'Ollone, on the basis of his voyages of exploration through unknown areas of China in the years 1906 to 1909, confirmed that the Meau not only had writing, but also written traditions. A writing peculiar to the Meau is also mentioned by another party (6), but these very general

6. Nan-chao, pp. 187 ff.

[173] remarks could not be verified. Other authors report that the Meau, according to their oral traditions, had had writing, to be sure, but had lost it. Such a tradition was not known to the Meau in Thailand visited by me. For the time being, I regard solely the statements of the older authors about the occasional use of Chinese characters as probable; the publications of D'Ollone were not available to me up to the time of publication of the present work.

/450/

Chapter 30

Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes

161 175 648 The history of the Meau shows that they were driven out of their original homeland and in places were completely destroyed. To be sure, this destruction was primarily an ethnic and not a biological death. Thus, it is certain that the southern Chinese have absorbed a considerable amount of Meau blood. In this case, however, the Meau have disappeared as an ethnic unit, so that their descendants do not in any way differ culturally from the Chinese.

161 Wherever the Meau were not destroyed by violent measures on the part of their neighbors, however, they have increased greatly and quickly, although, to be sure, epidemics and famines occasionally interrupted this rapid increase in population. At any rate the large number of offspring (an [163] [842] average of seven children per family in my area of work) and

/450 cont./

161 the lack of any birth control, given the possibility for development in a suitable climate, have shown themselves to be incomparably stronger than the limiting factors.
[163]
[842]

Precise statements concerning the total number of the Meau living today or concerning that of the tribes cannot be made because precise figures are lacking and the estimates available show extremely contradictory results. A distinction must be made here between the Meau faithful to their tribal customs and the groups which have been assimilated by their neighbors. Although the latter are probably incomparably greater in number than the former, they must remain outside of my consideration on account of the lack of any means of dealing with them.

162 The largest, densest Meau groups by far are even today
131 still found in China, and, to be sure, not only in Yunnan, the
[167] province from which in particular the groups that immigrated to Thailand came, /451/ but above all in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and
[648] Honan. These Meau tribes seem to have maintained considerable independence in relation to the Chinese even today. Von Eickstedt, for instance, on page 1 b of his manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift of 1933, reports: "Even now the Miao form the largest and most representative bulk of the so-called southern barbarians of China, in Kweichow still at least half of the population, and actually the only one in the mountains. Indeed, no one knows how many millions are involved, for the Miao do not appreciate it at all if one is too closely concerned about their affairs."

If one compares these statements with the rest of the literature, he can only agree with him. For example, according to Warry (1), who is regarded as an authority by Scott, the

1. Page 598.

Meau make up almost half of the population of Kweichow and are also very widespread in Kwangsi and the neighboring provinces. Betts (2), Edkins (3), and Jaeger (4) make similar

2. Pages 1 ff.

/459 cont./

181 In the literature the character of the Meau is judged
● 648 very differently. They come out the worst in the Chinese sources, which is understandable if one considers the fact that in four thousand years of struggles the Meau have not yet been completely subjugated and assimilated. Thus, the oldest part of the Schu-djin, which supplements the Bamboo Annals, characterizes them as follows: "These Meau are really stupid, silly, conceited, and without respect! Insolent and stubborn, they do not walk the path of righteousness and they destroy virtue!..."

181 The authors of other nationalities, however, especially
674 Europeans, come to totally different conclusions, and many authors stress above all, besides many other good-qualities, the honesty of the Meau. Thus, Savina (1) emphasizes: "Theft is

1. II, p. 232.

extremely rare." Since not all of the peoples neighboring the Meau can boast of such honesty, the members of these peoples positively search for an explanation of this, to them, very inexplicable phenomenon, and /460/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) writes

1. Page 170.

that the Meau have, "as a result of a strange character trait, an aversion to petty thefts." If they "wished to steal, this had to be done on a large scale. Forming bands /Platten/ and companies, they pillaged and, if necessary, did not shrink from murder." Actually, however, the "pillaging expeditions"
[921] assumed by the author were a matter of war actions in the eyes of the Meau and had nothing at all to do with crime!

181 Marabail (2) gives the following characterization: "The

2. Page 463.

[191] Meau is likable, honest, industrious, warlike, and intelligent. He learns foreign languages quickly." I, too, was often able

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M /460 cont./
181 to observe this talent for languages. The Meau usually speaks
[191] at least one and usually two or more foreign languages in addition to his mother tongue. To possess knowledge is regarded among the Meau as wise; a person without knowledge is stupid, as they say. It was often expressed: one who masters life,
M [461] knows how to do the work in the house and in the fields properly,
[555] is wise. The desire for the best performance is already shown by this attitude, and likewise by the competitive games of the children (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work").

M 181 Almost all the authors mention the indomitable desire
● 648 for freedom of the Meau, which is already apparent from their historical traditions and the organization of their army, as well as their aversion to being ruled by members of other peoples. Abadie (3) asserts: "It is necessary to mention the repugnance

3. Page 163.

with which the Meau suffer their subordination under a Thai chief. Even if this is limited merely to trifling matters which only rarely affect the life of the Meau..." Savina (4) also

4. II, p. 232.

emphasizes this desire for independence, and Lajonquière (5)

5. II, p. 302.

gives a brief outline characterization: "The 'Meau' is regarded as an intelligent and skillful worker. The characteristic trait of his moral attitude is his deep love of freedom. At the slightest punishment or limitation, he sets out with all his belongings to seek a corner where he will find freedom. He is courageous and daring, keeps his word, and is open in his speech."

A M 147 Moreover, I found the Meau physically strong, hardened, and capable of great resistance against hunger, thirst, and all physical exertion. The women, however, sometimes appear

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice." 181 153 Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be designated as thoroughly disciplined.

Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the 648 ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 153 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

/462 cont./

181 [153] Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a [177] dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152 148 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very 152 much the Meau, as true mountain people, suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

/465 cont./

123 574 We experienced this hospitality of the Meau on several occasions. For example, when I visited one Meau village, the chief was absent. Nevertheless, his son provided me generously with all kinds of foodstuffs, though the harvest had not yet begun and the Meau themselves were therefore very short of food supplies, and my wife and I, as well as my porters and accompanying persons, represented a crowd of people who needed a great deal. When the chief returned from hunting after about eight days, I wanted to pay for everything, but he declined: "You are the first Whites to visit my village. I am glad that my people were in a position to give you hospitality, and I would never accept any compensation for something that is taken for granted." He was not to be dissuaded from this viewpoint.

574 648 The attitude of the Meau toward the Yumbri (Phi Tong Luang) is likewise typical. These shy nomads of the primeval forest, who lead their primitive existence in the forests colonized by the Meau, who are regarded by the Lao, Tin, Kamuk, and the other neighboring peoples as evil spirits, are murdered or are cheated and exploited in the most brutal ways, and whose fear of other people therefore knows no bounds, have confidence only in the Meau. The latter do not take advantage of their superiority over the primitives and grant them protection, help, and even shelter at the warming fireplace, when they knock at their doors, hungry and drenched by the rain, and offer their scanty forest products in exchange for rice or meat. The special hospitality of the Meau is mentioned by many authors, /466/ for example, by Savina (1) and Abadie (2). At any rate, it shows how little [152]

1. II, pp. 189 and 232.

2. Page 151.

greedy the Meau are.

39: Bernatzik--678 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

T /501 cont./
147 the humid tropics and in which thousands of Whites had settled.
563 The bearers of such European names, however, are today no longer distinguishable in any way from their black neighbors.

Even today, the mountain peoples of Farther India in Thailand live exclusively at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters, where the climate is essentially different from that in
T the tropical valleys. Just as in the case of the Whites who were
147 still unfamiliar with controlling tropical diseases, the tropics
166 are the ruin of the mountain peoples when they try to settle
563 in the valleys. I myself was able to confirm this repeatedly. For example, the Lahu allowed themselves /502/ to be pushed into lower regions in places in northwest Thailand and in a period of a few years suffered crushing losses from tropical epidemics. Again, among the Meau, I observed that even a temporary sojourn in the valley lowlands of the Lao produced severe malaria epidemics among them. In Kengtung, where the mountain peoples, especially the Akha and Lisu, who visit the markets of the Schan /Shan/ need only a stay of one single night in the region of the market to be infected.

This inability of the mountain tribes to become acclimated has also drawn the attention of other authors. In the literature there are noteworthy comments on this subject, which stand in marked contrast to the opinion of Heine-Geldern (1),

1. II, Vol. II, p. 746.

who, to be sure, did not have the opportunity to study conditions on the spot. He writes: "However much individual tribes cling to the mountains, the important step down into the plains is taken at a favorable opportunity." Now as far as the Meau
M and Lahu are concerned, there can be no doubt that this step
[147] was repeatedly attempted, but it is likewise certain that it was
[166] always unsuccessful and the mountain people each time had to
[648] pay for the attempt with heavy biological losses. Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 311.

39: Bernatzik--679 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

/502 cont./

T 147 166 563 M 147 166 648 gives a typical example in describing the struggles of the Meau with a Thai people, the Tho, who had been defeated by the Meau: "Be that as it may, the surviving 'Tho' would have had to emigrate if the Meau had been able to become acclimatized in the low-lying valleys where the greatest number of wet-rice fields are. Happily for the Tho, the conquerors were unable to hold out in the heavy and humid atmosphere of the lowlands and had to return as quickly as possible to higher altitudes, leaving behind for the former owners all the rice fields lying below an altitude of 800 meters."

Maspero, too, made interesting observations. He speaks of the dispersed Meau groups in Tonkin who live as enclaves between foreign peoples and are completely separated from the main tribe. He proceeds literally: "They would have completely lost their individuality if they had not been incapable of acclimatizing themselves below an altitude of 800 to 1,000 meters; that has saved them."

It is interesting that Von Eickstedt (3) touches upon the same

3. III, p. 5.

subject, but from the /503/ economic aspect. He writes, for instance: "Miao in the plains are actually no longer Miao; it simply cannot be -- they would then have to become Chinese or Thai if only for economic reasons."

T 563 177 How strongly the manner of settlement of the mountain peoples is tied to climatic prerequisites is also shown by the fact that while among the tribes settled in southwest China plow-cultivation and livestock-raising form the economic bases, in Thailand only hoe-cultivation is practiced. The breeding of cattle and horses was likewise abandoned in places in Thailand if the new living area demanded it. Here we clearly see that the cultural change, in these cases an impoverishment, is conditioned by the racially determined inability of the peoples in question to adapt to the tropics, in other words, by their genetic make-up.

39: Bernatzik--689 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Burma AP1
Miao AE5

/511 cont./

B T 797 The attitude of the various peoples toward the missions is largely dependent on the economic conditions of the natives in each case. If it is a matter of uprooted segments of a people, such as the Wa who were driven out of their homeland, the mission finds conversion easy. On the other hand, in the case of a rich and healthy people for whom adequate possibilities for a livelihood are provided, as, for example, the Lisu, they succeed in penetrating only with the use of all kinds of expedients. These, too, however, are often in vain.

M 648 d) Attitude of the Various Colonizers toward the Mountain Peoples

The migratory movement of the mountain peoples is of the greatest significance from a colonial-political standpoint for those peoples that rule the valleys and has induced them to take a stand toward the masses of people who have immigrated and continue to immigrate.

1) Conditions in China

In China since ancient times the mountain peoples have been fought (see the chapter, "History"). Raids, killings, and well-organized military expeditions were the order of the day. These battles usually ended with the subjugation of the vanquished, who subsequently were quickly assimilated, or with the forcible removal of the mountain peoples from the living space concerned. Often there were also vast resettlements of the vanquished. A large part, perhaps the main part of the mountain peoples, was as a consequence of these conditions absorbed into the great mass of Chinese people. Only a part succeeded in maintaining their independence by emigrating to territories difficult of access and also suitable for them climatically. More and more settled beyond the borders of the Chinese Empire.

M [167]

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●648 It is not much better for the Meau, Yau /Yao/, Lisu, and Lahu still living in China today, although methods of economic penetration have frequently taken the place of attack by military measures. High tax rates are not possible for the mountain peoples and, on the other side, in the case of non-payment, always provide occasions for punitive expeditions. As a result of the economic penetration of ever larger areas by Chinese traders, whose business sense does not shrink from any kind of exploitation, the mountain peoples fall into economic dependency. The means used for this vary. For example, the trader fleeces those who are little skilled in business out of the products of their work, without paying them anywhere near the actual value. On the other hand, however, he offers loans at high rates of interest. Since the amounts of money received are usually squandered in unproductive ways the debtors are unable to produce the interest and finally lose their land through confiscation. Another form is systematic habituation to opium and other narcotic poisons and the ruthless and unlimited exploitation of the addicts. At least as important as these methods, however, is the "peaceful penetration" in intellectual respects, which introduces cultural change in the direction of the Chinese. This involves the ability of the Chinese to convert the mountain peoples to the view that the Chinese are a people higher than they themselves are and that to be absorbed by them should be regarded as a special honor. By means of such a mental attitude, of course, culture change in the direction of the Chinese is introduced. In this connection we are indebted to Lajonquière (1) for some interesting observations: "If a

1. II, p. 309.

Meau obtains an office, achieves a social position which lifts him above the multitude of his fellow tribesmen, he tries to pass by his clothing and way of life as a Chinese." In another

/512 cont./

• 648 place the same author (2) mentions: "If a few Meau in Pakha

2. II, p. 318.

tend to the graves and decorate them on festive days, this is an imitation of Chinese customs." Von Eickstedt (3), too, reports

3. Manuscript for the Buschan Festschrift, p. 3.

on the methods of peaceful penetration used by the Chinese when they could not reach their goal by force.

In the Yü Chu-luan there is a report of a Meau tribe whose members "consider themselves Chinese." A /513/ Chinese source (Ch Hch-'kfsch (1)) writes of the Han Meau that

1. II, Ch. 8, p. 16.

they marry Chinese and are strongly Sinicized, and the same source designates the Sung-Chia Meau as "descendants of Chinese who intermarried with natives" (2).

2. II, Ch. 10, pp. 42 ff.

Especially interesting and a perfect example of the fact that the Chinese carry out a successful Sinicization policy even in foreign countries is the observation that Lajonquière (3) made

3. II, p. 314.

on this in Indochina, in regions that are under the administration of the French colonial office: "A short time ago, some Meau chiefs of the Dongvan region are said to have founded schools. [212] As far as we are concerned, we have never met a Meau who was able to write, and we have always heard concerning them that they do not study since not even one letter of the alphabet can ever enter their heads. They therefore have the custom, in

39: Bernatzik--692 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
Burma AP1

M /513 cont./
648 groups of some significance, of keeping a Chinese skilled at
[212] writing, who, as secretary, maintains contact with the administration." Abadie (4) confirms this observation.

4. Page 152.

Thus, the Chinese demonstrate the effort either to destroy the foreign peoples of lower culture under their domination, in order to gain possession of the living spaces settled by the mountain peoples, or to make them economically dependent, in order to obtain cheap labor, or to assimilate them. In no case are methods to preserve foreign nationalities put into effect. That the Chinese have had success with their procedures is shown by the disappearance of the mountain peoples in large areas of North and Southwest China which were formerly their preferred habitation areas (see the chapter, "History").

2. The Conditions in Burma

B
563 One part of the mountain peoples pushed out of China immigrated to Burma via Yunnan. Here the uninhabited heights could be settled with relatively little disturbance, since the ruling people, the Schan /Shan/, lived in the valleys. Thus the mountain peoples who immigrated were nominally under the princes of the Schan, but otherwise were completely independent. Even when Burma came under British domination, no difficulties arose. Since the rule of the Schan princes /514/ from then on was in name only, the will of the British colonial officials prevailed. These were all experienced men, usually army officers who had transferred to the colonial service. It was very disadvantageous for the peoples under them, however, that these officials were changed too often and because of that were almost never in a position to learn the language, let alone to study the practices and customs of the mountain peoples. In spite of these decidedly unfavorable factors, however, the administrative results in Burma were not unfavorable from the standpoint of the mountain peoples.

/528 cont./

medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):

1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

The following event proved to me that in this respect natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and